/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes [648] Tafligná, Apapokúva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dissolution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among [166] them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal 621 162 166 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestizos), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestizos. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for [768] some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his [755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treatments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently [464] the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Itanhaém region.

621 182 [563] Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 68 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region.

621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

2: Schaden--176 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/135 cont./

764 Guaraní subgroups, but also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of
178 the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day im-
184 mediately after the death, it falling to the ñanderú to plant the
[171] cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to
[756] the grave for several days, to the sounds of the mbaraká and the
[534] takuapú. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion of the death of children.

764 The Ñandéva of Bananal, perhaps the most acculturated
177 ones, take their dead to the public cemeteries of Peruíbe and
178 Itanhaém; they bury them in a box made out of boards covered with cloth, and above the grove they set a cross; on the other hand, the dead person is lowered into the grave with the "devotion" (djeatsaá, religious ornament) on the body, an indication (even if there were no others) that those acculturative phenomena do not correspond to the radical religious transformation that they would seem to reveal at first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact
[775] that they transport their dead companion a distance of many leagues goes along very well with the fear of the anguéry that the Guaraní have.

768 In the south of Mato Grosso the Ñandéva remember having
[764] had among them the interment inside the dwelling; they aban-
[178] doned the house, without burning it, and went to live at some distance away; today such a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Kayová, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses; but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, one of my informants (isidro) left his house, building another one at some distance, because in the old one "many children died"; perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house shelters noxious substances.

764 In general, a Guaraní interment follows in part traditional
177 usages, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the
178 neighboring populations with whom the Indians come in contact.

/136 cont./

775 764 372 [774] not have entrance to the sky," that is to say, who is not accepted because of a disorderly life, returns to roam about on earth without rest, becoming transformed into an anguéry. A doctrine which obviously takes into account less primitive concepts, since it replaces the belief in the duality of the human soul by the Christian notion of reward and condemnation.

764 178 [769] [768] At the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú (Araribá), where the burial is usually done in hammocks (unless the post administrator provides a wooden box), the graves are decorated on the Day of the Dead in the same way as the Christian ones are, but, on the other hand, they keep the custom of putting on the tomb the objects that belonged to the deceased, especially in the case of children. When a child dies, they put on the grave the toys left behind by it and on the following days go to take the things that they still find; on the tombs of adults they place the porunga /water container/ that the deceased -- or rather the deceased woman -- used for carrying water, besides other objects of personal use.

768 764 The "odds and ends" that belonged to the deceased, and which are not buried with him, are placed on the tomb for an unlimited time. At the cemetery of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant there was a vast number of things: bottles, porongos, calabashes, shoes, bows, dishes, pots and pans, and so on. Exposed to the weather, these objects are gradually /137/ destroyed; it also happens, as Capitão Alberto told me, that the better things are "stolen" by some interested person. The temptation, in fact, must be great. I have not been able to find out whether there is actually an idea that the "spirit" (anguéry) of the dead person can utilize the "odds and ends" that he used during his life (17).

[775] [114]

17. /From p. 152 of the original source./ No calabash is left on the grave, aside from those that belonged to the dead man or woman, contrary to what V. D. Watson states, 1944, p. 40.

768 775 428 Among the Mbüá I was told that the material goods of the deceased

2: Schaden--179 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/137 cont./

768 775 [428] continue to be the property of his mboguá, which is the reason that nobody can inherit them. The mboguá would come to look for the one who tried to appropriate them. Pablo Vera of Yrofuí confessed that sometimes an old man keeps the objects of the dead man, because he will die within a short time anyway.

764 In the Kayová cemeteries, to the extent that I am familiar with them, the graves are very close to one another. The burial is done in hammocks, the grave being "seven spans" deep (Capitão Alberto). It is also customary to leave on the grave the pole used to carry the hammock with the deceased. In general, the burial takes place on the day immediately following the death (18).

[166] 18. /From p. 152 of the original source./ An extraordinary case, reported by the former administrator of the P. I. Benjamim Constant, is that of an Indian woman attacked by wildfire, who, there not being any cure, was buried still alive; a very deep grave was dug, so that she would not get out.

765 177 In spite of the resistance of the individuals more averse to innovations, the younger Kayová generation of the Mato Grosso villages has adopted the so-called "wake of the cross," a week after the death of children or youths. It is a feast, common in [171] Paraguay and among the caboclos of the southern Mato Grosso region, which is held in the house of mourning, extending far into the night; guitar music accompanying songs in Guaraní ("Paraguayan polkas"), dancing (principally when it is a matter of a child), and fireworks, all moistened with a great deal to drink. The cross, accompanied by burning candles, is kept in the house until the feast is finished; on the following day, in the morning, everybody goes to the cemetery, planting it on the [775] [171] grave. This usage is based on the belief, current in the neighboring Paraguayan population and analogous to ideas of the Guaraní

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

This is also a fair statement of the beliefs of the Cayuá of the present time, and we may therefore safely consider it as representing the past of this people's religion. A third class of supernaturals existed, made up of the remote "sky god" culture heroes and creator beings. The earthly demons almost universally had peculiar individual traits, such as one leg, double feet (that is, legs with feet and toes extending both forward and back), red hair (!), dwarf or giant size, and similar features. No Cayuá who knew his demonology would be likely to mistake the particular spirit he might at some time be dealing with. Furthermore, the demons usually had special individual interests in life. One sustained himself entirely upon bananas (*sic!*), another on honey, and usually each lived in a particular type of place, some in the water, some in the *cerrado*, some in the *taquara* groves, some among the *pindó* palms. Some, at least, were associated as owners or protectors of certain plants or animals, and one might incur their wrath by treating the plant or animal in question in a careless or disrespectful manner. Almost any of these beings was capable of doing harm to men, although certain ones were more aggressive in this enterprise than others. A few demons may have been passive as far as man was concerned, and even fewer may occasionally have helped man by teaching him the use of plants or the knowledge of crafts. By and large, however, these beings were to be avoided, or placated if avoidance were not possible. Probably all of them had individual names.

The ghost spirits were not individually named but simply referred to generically as *angwéra*. They abounded and were omnipresent—or at least were capable of turning up practically anywhere at any time. Many of the commonest *angwéra* were ghosts of departed Cayuá—if, indeed, this was not the ultimate origin of them all. Measures were usually taken upon interment to see that the ghost of the deceased human did not return or stay in the neighborhood of his erstwhile house or village. Houses of the deceased were probably abandoned and burned. The use of fire seems closely connected with the Cayuá idea of exorcising ghosts. A fire was kindled by the grave of the newly deceased; fires were kept alive at night in the houses of the Cayuá (and are still) with the thought that this would keep lurking ghosts away. The night was especially fearful, and few would needlessly venture out alone. Great fear of possible harm caused by these spirits appears to have been characteristic of many of the Tupi-Guarani, and even whites were occasionally appealed to for help.[78] There is good reason to believe that the same was largely true of the Cayuá.

There is no direct indication that the ancient Cayuá had idols or other similar objects of worship. The Jesuits in their writings complained of the Guarani who sometimes apparently had a special structure separate from their village where they kept the bones of a former powerful *paʔi*, displayed

[78] Nimuendajú was once called upon by some Apapocuva-Guarani to use his rifle against a particularly malevolent and persistent ghost.